

A New Stage In the Fight

An Editorial

An important victory — comparable to the Supreme Court's original decision against school segregation — has been won in Little Rock. A reluctant President has been compelled by an outraged public here and abroad to enforce the Negro people's constitutional rights.

How complete a reversal on school desegregation is the use of federal troops may be appreciated by a glance at the record of the political parties on the issue. During the 1956 Presidential campaign, Republican candidate Eisenhower vowed he would never use troops or any kind of coercion under any circumstances to enforce the high court's school ruling. Democratic candidate Stevenson loudly echoed the promise. Only Socialist Workers Party candidate Farrell Dobbs declared for full and speedy federal enforcement of school integration including use of federal troops.

Since then Eisenhower has repeatedly stated he would never use federal troops. Only a few months ago, in response to the question, he angrily cried, "Over my dead body!" In the recent civil rights struggle in Congress, as an act of appeasement to the Dixiecrats, one of the several laws authorizing such use of federal troops was repealed. Every capitalist politician in Congress — from North, South, East and West, from reactionary to liberal — then and there recorded his opposition to using federal troops if necessary to enforce the Negro people's rights in the South. The Senate vote was 90 to 0.

The nine courageous Negro children and the steadfast NAACP branch led by Mrs. L. C. Bates in Little Rock have thus accomplished far more than opening that city's high school. They have erased from the Supreme Court decision the scrawl, "Not to be seriously enforced," put there by a conspiracy embracing the President, Congress, Democrats, Republicans, reactionaries, moderates and liberals.

A Valuable Precedent

For the use of federal troops in Little Rock constitutes a precedent for the Negro people that the capitalist politicians — much as they will squirm and try to weasel out of — will never be able to get away from. At each crucial stage in the fight for the enforcement of the rights they now possess on paper, the Negro people will be in a position to demand federal intervention if they need it to override the illegal and violent opposition of Deep South state officials and their racist mobs. This demand will receive support from white workers and sections of the middle class nationally. The resulting political pressure for effective federal action against the inhuman and unconstitutional structure of Jim Crow, and the capitalist politicians' resistance to such pressure, can blow the Republican-Democrat political monopoly sky high.

The use of federal troops in Little Rock is also a damaging blow to the whole philosophy of gradualism in school desegregation. This is the policy now in effect. It has resulted in more token than real integration, and a lessening of that.

This gradualism has been palmed off on the public as the way to avoid violent racist opposition. As has been amply demonstrated in other places besides Little Rock, it does no such thing. Its timidity persuades the racists that integration can be beaten. It was precisely this gradualism that was challenged by the Deep South officials using Gov. Faubus as their advance guard.

With the precedent committing the federal government to actual enforcement of school desegregation, fighters against Jim Crow will increasingly realize that since full-scale battles must be waged, it is better to wage them for real, not token, integration. For justice and the Negro people cannot be satisfied with anything less than full integration and in the Deep South itself.

ECLC Launches Drive To Abolish Thought Cops

By Ruth Norton

A Sept. 20 meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as the opening gun in a nationwide campaign for the purpose of abolishing the House Un-American Activities Committee drew an audience of 1500 which filled the main floor and two balconies at New York's Carnegie Hall. This despite an unexpected line of pickets who circled the entrance shouting red-baiting slogans. A further attempt at harassment, the setting off of a stink bomb, also failed as the audience stubbornly remained seated.

Featured speakers were Hugh H. Wilson, Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University, and Dalton Trumbo, a blacklisted Hollywood screenwriter.

PLEDGE RESISTANCE

The recent Watkins decision of the Supreme Court provides the basis for the forthright campaign of the ECLC to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. Frank Wilkinson, a public housing expert from Los Angeles, himself a victim of blacklisting, who now heads the ECLC's legislative committee chaired the meeting. He was enthusiastically applauded when he declared: "There will not be one more hearing of the Un-American Committee that will not be met with resistance. Tonight marks the opening of the abolition campaign. One hundred years ago a campaign was begun to free the human body. Now it is a campaign to free the human mind with the object to abolish such committees in Congress. We pledge resistance."

Shivers Got Away With Defiance

The pattern and precedent for Gov. Faubus' attempt to nullify the federal court's order for integration in Little Rock was set last year in Mansfield, Texas. There a federal court had ordered integration of several Negro students in the high school. The Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the order and the Supreme Court refused to hear any further appeals against it. Nonetheless Gov. Allan Shivers ordered Texas Rangers to Mansfield High School to keep the Negroes out. Nothing was done to Shivers for his defiance of the law. Mansfield High remains a Jim Crow school today.

Pickets Hit New York Jim Crow

By Morris Zuckoff
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for
New York Comptroller

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — A three-and-a-half year struggle by Negro and Puerto Rican parents to integrate schools in New York City again found militant and determined expression yesterday. Three hundred parents, organized by Parents in Action Against Educational Discrimination, representing schools in every borough in New York City, picketed for several hours in front of City Hall, demanding an end to discrimination in New York public schools. The pickets, a majority of them mothers of school children, manifested the same fighting zeal displayed by the Negro freedom fighters in the South.

I talked to some of the parents as they marched on the picket line, as they rested for a while on the edge of the sidewalk or as they sat on the railing that surrounds City Hall. One young militant mother, holding on to her small child, told me, "This of course is only the beginning. We know that

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Teamster Fight Raises Issue of Union Democracy

By Fred Halstead

One result of the Senate labor-probe hearings is the widespread publicity now being given to the question of union democracy. The Senators touched on the question this week by accusing Hoffa and other Detroit delegates to the Teamsters convention of having been selected in violation of the union's constitution.

Hoffa's two most publicized opponents in the campaign for the Teamsters top post, Thomas J. Haggerty of Chicago and Thomas L. Hickey of New York, have challenged the validity of delegates to the union's convention from the 12% of Teamster locals that are under "trusteeship." (Locals run completely by appointees of the International president who can — and often do — simply abolish membership meetings and rule by decree.)

Thirteen Teamsters members from the New York area have filed a suit in Federal court asking for a temporary restraining order blocking the election of officers at the convention beginning Sept. 30. The 13, none of them officials, charge that 50% of the convention delegates have been selected by methods that violate the union's constitution. Named as defendants in the suit are all the union's vice-presidents except Hickey. The lawyer for the 13, Godfrey Schmidt, has previously acted as lawyer for Martin Lacey, a Hickey supporter. This indicates the possibility that the suit is a move in Hickey's campaign.

Schmidt says the suit is

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Outraged Public Forces President to Use Troops

To Keep Out One Child



Nashville, Tenn., school building, shown above, was wrecked by racists after one Negro first-grade student had been admitted. This was one of the terrorist acts committed by Southern segregationists that provoked world-wide protest and finally compelled Eisenhower to act in Little Rock.

National Guardian Calls For Independent Politics

The National Guardian, prominent radical weekly newspaper, is showing strong interest in the promotion of political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. A Sept. 23 editorial in the Guardian devoted to the question states that "with-out an independent political task force in the nation," the Negro people have been left to "carry on alone in the fight for implementation of civil rights."

Furthermore, says the Guardian, "Peace is without a political program in this country—a sad situation indeed when a clear and overwhelming majority of the people demand peace and an end to atomic nonsense, yet have no political means of saying so." (See editorial, "The National Guardian's Stand," page three.)

ELECTION ROUND UP

The concern for independent politics is also manifested in an article entitled "A Political Round-up—Fall Elections Offer Preview for Ballot in '58 and '60." It is devoted to the Wisconsin, New York City, Detroit and New

Jersey contests this year. Under the sub-heading "Choice on the Left," the Guardian reports that "On the left there is an alternative [to Democratic candidate Wagner and Republican candidate Christenberry in New York City] in the candidacy of Joyce Cowley of the Socialist Workers Party. Last week petitions containing 11,000 signatures were filed to put her on the ballot, along with Lillian Kiesel for Council President; Morris Zuckoff, Controller; and Alvin Bertram, Brooklyn Borough President. Legal requirement 7,000."

"The Communist Party is supporting only one independent, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for councilwoman from a lower East Side district. Canvassers, operating out of a Flynn headquarters at 15 Second Ave. seek 4,000 signatures by Sept. 23, deadline for filing. The legal minimum is 3,000. The Socialist Workers Party (116 University Pl.) recently offered a mutual assistance pact to the CP calling for collaboration on gathering signatures for their respective candidates. Flynn headquarters by Sept. 17 had not responded to the SWP, called for more canvassers and reported that canvassing was meeting a better response than in 1954, when Miss Flynn last ran for office. Miss Flynn is campaigning under the People's Rights Party designation."

The Guardian then reports the Detroit elections as follows: "Detroit storms center around mayoralty candidate Louis Miriani. Although he is a Republican and has served in the council presidency as a 'whip' for the late Mayor Albert Cobo—almost universally labeled a reactionary by labor and the left—Miriani had won the endorsement of AFL and CIO leaders. Sarah Lovell tried to rally a labor or left opposition slate and, after that effort failed, accepted the SWP designation. In the Sept. 10 primaries three Negroes were nominated for the Common Council. If elected they will be Detroit's first Negro councilmen."

Reuther and Hoffa: The Labor Corruption Issue

By Joseph Keller

The fire of the Senate committee headed by Arkansas Senator John McClellan, white supremacist and union-hater extraordinaire, is now being concentrated on James R. Hoffa, leading aspirant to replace David Beck as president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This has inspired a spate of articles in newspapers and magazines contrasting Hoffa unfavorably with other highly publicized union leaders. Chief among the latter is United Automobile Workers President Walter P. Reuther.

An extensive article appears in the Sept. 22 New York Times Magazine, written by A. H. Raskin, called "Reuther vs. Hoffa: A Key Struggle." Here Reuther is portrayed as a "labor statesman" in contrast to Hoffa, a rough, tough, cynical associate of racketeers and hoodlums.

As Raskin puts it, Reuther and Hoffa rose to eminence along "divergent avenues to union power—one as the trumpet of a global New Deal and the other as the consort of extortionists and muscle men." Reuther, according to Raskin, is "vastly more

dedicated to the maintenance of high ethical standards."

THE BIG DIFFERENCE

But these "high ethical standards," it seems, are not the total measure of difference. "Labor's freedom from corruption is only one facet of this conflict," Raskin finds. "For Hoffa, unions are a business, in which anything goes so long as the organization keeps delivering fatter pay envelopes and other benefits to its members. Reuther rejects this cash register estimate of unionism, even when it does not involve racketeering. He views unions as instruments for effecting basic social and economic reform."

According to the above, Hoffa's chief defect would appear to be a too-zealous defense of his membership's standard of living. He takes too seriously his duty to advance the interests of the workers — not some time in the dim future but in next week's paycheck. This really gives Hoffa a bit too much credit.

On the other hand, Reuther's rejection of "cash register" unionism — that is, unionism which never ceases, as its main endeavor, to fight for a higher share of the surplus value

created by the workers — is no mark of distinction from the workers' standpoint. The auto workers have only recently been apprised of one of Reuther's schemes for alleged "basic social and economic reforms" — his proposal to reduce the UAW's wage demands in return for a small cut in the price of autos, put forward as a program to "end inflation."

THE "BIG PICTURE"

Reuther's "global planning" and "basic social and economic reforms," when carefully examined, prove to be piddling propositions, demagogic schemes and even downright nonsense, used chiefly when he tries to cover up some move to give away the dollars-and-cents demands of the auto workers.

It is not without significance that Reuther's "first 'big picture' idea," as Stanley Levey wrote in his adulatory article in the Aug. 18 New York Times, was his plan in 1940 to advance the imperialist war preparations of U.S. capitalism by converting the automobile industry into mass production of military aircraft. Levey comments that "the coming of the shooting war

accomplished Mr. Reuther's purpose."

In 1946, Reuther achieved a certain fleeting distinction during the General Motors strike when he advanced the slogan of a "look at the books" of the corporation. As with others of his proposals of this type, Reuther had picked up for publicity purposes an idea long and strenuously advanced by genuine militants, particularly associates of the Socialist Workers Party. But Reuther never seriously pursued this excellent proposition as he has never seriously pressed for any of his "plans," except those involving more extensive war preparations.

MORE RECENT POLICIES

In 1948, Reuther secured a cost-of-living escalator clause in the General Motors contract. He accompanied this, however, with a sharp reduction in the basic wage demand and with modifying clauses permitting the company to "discipline" workers who might resist the speed-up. The escalator clause, it might be added, was a watered-down version of the sliding scale of wages proposal put forward in

Long Stall on Protecting Arkansas Negro Children Arouses World Outcry

By George Lavan

SEPT. 26 — An outraged world public opinion finally compelled President Eisenhower to send federal troops to escort the nine Negro school children into the Little Rock High School. He had repeatedly proclaimed before that he wouldn't ever dream of using federal troops to enforce school integration.

The pressure compelling Eisenhower's about face was both national and international. In this country the Negro people were aroused to an anger surpassing even that caused by the lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till two years ago. Backing this up was the mass indignation over the mistreatment of the Negro school children which swept most of the white workers and middle class in all sections of the country save the Deep South. This tremendous public opinion mounted as week after week of federal inaction ensued.

ANTI-AMERICAN WAVE

The opinion of the mass of people in other countries — an opinion which U.S. imperialism now has to reckon with — may be glimpsed in a United Press dispatch of Sept. 25 describing the "wave of anti-American sentiment that swept the world in the wake of the Little Rock school crisis."

The entry of the U.S. Army onto the Little Rock battlefield marked an end to three weeks of inaction, attempted compromise, and near surrender by the federal government to Arkansas Governor Faubus and the racists.

In those weeks the people of the U.S. and of the whole world were able to see Eisenhower's lack of enthusiasm for upholding the Negro people's rights.

Originally at his Sept. 3 press conference Eisenhower tried to make excuses for Faubus. After his Sept. 14 confab with Faubus he told the nation about the latter's "constructive and cooperative attitude" and gave the guilty governor immunity for defiance of the law not only for the previous 12 days but for a week to come.

But when Faubus did withdraw the National Guardsmen from Central High School, it was with the certainty that the Negro



EISENHOWER

children would still be kept out — this time by a racist mob.

The preparation for the anti-Negro rioting which took place around the high school on Sept. 23 was twofold. First, was Faubus' veiled call for rioting in the form of a warning that it was sure to take place. This was an incitement to the racist groups already emboldened by their Governor's action and Eisenhower's inaction. Secondly, at least one of Faubus' right hand men was active in organizing and directing rioters.

Almost all newspaper correspondents at the Little Rock riot remarked on the presence and activities of State Athletic Commissioner James Karam. The most informative account appeared in the New York Post (Sept. 24) which said:

"There was ample evidence today that the segregationist mob at Central HS yesterday had organization and leadership. Prominent in the crowd was Jimmy Karam, State Athletic Commissioner, operator of a professional strike-breaking service and a close friend of Gov. Faubus."

"... He [Karam] was talking confidentially to the surly youths who caused most of the trouble. Several times he pointed out key battle stations for them."

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...President Uses Troops in Arkansas

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and he seemed to have an uncanny knack of predicting the location of each flurry of violence before it occurred. Once when a Negro photographer was set upon and roughly up, Karam forgot himself and yelled: "Get the nigger!"

LITTLE ROCK COPS

But while the racists were bold the Little Rock police force was timid. For the most part it confined its efforts to maintaining a cordon around the school. No attempt was made to break up the mob or arrest its ringleaders. The police allowed the racists to brutally beat Negro newsmen. When later that night they arrested a few racists they overcompensated for this painful duty by instituting a reign of terror against Negroes who were arrested on the flimsiest pretexts and savagely treated. The tremendous wave of indignation which had been building up ever since the beginning of the Little Rock school crisis not only among the Negro people but in wide layers of the white working class and middle class in all sections of the U.S. except the South, was ready to explode after the Sept. 23 riot in Little Rock.

It was to forestall such an explosion that Eisenhower hastily issued that very night his emergency proclamation, followed the next day by his TV address and the dispatch of troops to Little Rock.

The tremendous wave of popular feeling against Faubus and the Little Rock racists was unorganized. Credit for it cannot be claimed either by the national leaders of the Negro people or by the labor leaders.

The NAACP leaders did not even call for the sending of federal troops because they considered it too "radical" a demand. The furthest the NAACP went was to wire Eisenhower urging that he federalize the Arkansas National Guard and to request that he give an audience to a Negro delegation. Even worse was the position of Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who on Sept. 22, just two days before the troops were dispatched to Little Rock, declared: "We cannot meet this crisis by force against force. Under no circumstances can federal troops be used. This would be a confession of our moral decadence, it would precipitate a second Civil War — it would open the stopper and send Democracy down the drain for at least one generation and maybe forever."

When the opportunistic Negro Congressman made the above statement he was apologizing beforehand for Eisenhower from whom he had secured the promise of a meeting at some unspecified time in the future. He could not then foresee that mass pressure

and the velocity of events would in two days make his statement obviously ridiculous and reactionary.

AFL-CIO LEADERS SILENT

Nor can the AFL-CIO leaders claim credit for the wave of solidarity and sympathy which brought whole layers of the white working class that were previously apathetic or even unfriendly to the Negro struggle, over to the side of the Negro people on the Little Rock issue. The top labor leaders, who are usually lavish with words, did not distinguish themselves by militant statements about Little Rock. Needless to say, they never even considered actions, such as mass meetings or TV broadcasts, to mobilize sentiment and put pressure on the White House.

The bureaucratic crust that today covers the labor movement pretty generally prevented the intense feeling of Northern workers about Little Rock from expressing itself through union channels. On the local union level, however there were some protests and the convention of the California AFL did itself proud on Sept. 17 by unanimously resolving that impeachment should be considered for "a President who fails to carry out his oath of office to uphold the nation's Constitution."

Even though Eisenhower has been forced to send troops to Little Rock, there are indications that his policy of half-way measures has not been abandoned.

DE-INTEGRATION

Most disgraceful is the federal army's bowing to racism by screening Negro GIs out of the squads on duty at the High School. What a display of prejudice and appeasement of prejudice in the very act of enforcing school desegregation!

Also to be watched carefully is Eisenhower's forthcoming conference with the Southern Governors and the hints already being dropped by administration spokesmen about speedy withdrawal of federal troops and their replacement by the federalized Arkansas National Guard.

It also remains to be seen what attitude will be taken toward Gov. Faubus. He is obviously guilty of the most flagrant contempt of court. He has also violated federal laws. Will he be brought to trial or will he go scot free? Similarly with professional strikebreaker Karam and the many known racists and assassins of Negro newspapermen. They and other riot ringleaders are guilty of contempt and lesser charges. Will they be punished? Or will they go undisturbed to serve as examples to other Ku Klux and White Citizens Council elements in the South that violence against integration and beating Negroes does not mean court prosecution?

Bulletin of Marxist Studies Reprints Trotsky Articles on China Revolution

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. Problems and Perspectives. By Leon Trotsky. Bulletin of Marxist Studies No. 1. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1957, 22 pp., 35 cents.

As stated by the publishers of this first pamphlet of a new series, "The aim of the Bulletin of Marxist Studies is to present material not readily available to Marxist students at a minimum cost."

An admirable start toward carrying out this aim has been made by the present work. Here we have a collection of two articles,

a speech, and four letters by Trotsky on China. A student seeking them out would have to find the introduction of a book long out of print and issues of magazines dating back as far as 19 years. Such research work has been made unnecessary by the assembling of these pieces in an attractive quarto-sized, photo-offset pamphlet.

The subject matter is very timely, for the Chinese Revolution is one of the most complex historical events confronting the Marxist student today. Yet the keys to the understanding of that revolution, the first stage of which is the dominant political and social fact of our decade, are to be found only in Trotsky's analyses written in the 1920's and '30's. The representative collection of articles in this pamphlet contain some of Trotsky's most brilliant and valuable writing on the subject.

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Calendar Of Events

Chicago Sat. Night, Oct. 5, FALL FESTIVAL AND HOP. 777 W. Adams. Dancing — fitterbug contest — delicious food. Aup.: Militant Labor Forum. Donation 50 cents.

Friday, Oct. 11, 8.15 P.M. "Role of the Unions Against the Anti-Negro Terror." Speaker: Claude De Bruce. 777 W. Adams. Aup.: Militant Labor Forum. Admission free.

Detroit Friday, Oct. 4, 8 P.M. "The Rise of Jimmy Hoffa and the Teamsters Convention." 3737 Woodward. Aup.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Twin Cities Fri., Oct. 4, 8 P.M. "The Integration Fight." Speaker: Claude De Bruce. Minneapolis: AFL Hall, Rm. B4, 117 SE 4th St.

The Plan to Reconstruct the CPUSA

By C. R. Hubbard

The Crisis in the Communist Party that followed the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now in its second year.

Sid Stein, National Organization Secretary of the CP, in his report to the July meeting of the National Committee, stated that the Communist Party has been reduced from 17,000 members in early 1956 to 10,000. "Among these comrades," said Stein, "are hundreds, if not thousands who are as they say, 'sitting on the fence,' passive, inactive. And this passivity and inactivity is not confined to rank and file comrades."

END IMMOBILIZATION

The National Committee, said Stein, "can and must end the period of uncertainty and immobilization and usher in a period where our direction is clear, our policies more concretely developed, and the method of solving controversial issues definitively established. This is supremely necessary."

In accepting Stein's report "in its totality" the National Committee of the Communist Party admitted that the convention last February failed to resolve the crisis of the CP despite the "unanimity" of its resolutions. It also declared its intention to end this period of crisis. How does it hope to solve the problem?

In the introduction to his report to the NC, Stein pointed out that the CPUSA at the 20th Congress "inaugurated a period of self-correction." The Chinese began their "campaign of rectification" and "our Italian comrades speak of 'renewal and rebirth.'" The American Communist Party must fall into line, according to Stein. But it doesn't need to "copy any of these slogans. . . . We perhaps should view ourselves as engaged in a period of reconstruction, reconstructing the very foundations of our movement."



DENNIS



KHRUSHCHEV



FOSTER

LITERATURE KITS This, according to Stein, is supposed to include ideological rebuilding, complete with "literature kits" to be issued to party members in the near future. There is no doubt that there will be a stream of new political material forthcoming from the CP in the next period. However, as the Stein report made clear, there will be no fundamental change in the Stalinist policies of the party, even though they led to the crisis in the first place.

As debate at the July National Committee meeting indicated, the dominant groups in the party leadership also seek to resolve the ideological crisis by pressing an organizational attack on critics of the Stalinist policies. William Z. Foster is the zealous advocate of beginning the pounding right now. Any attempt to restore a full-fledged bureaucratic regime must be a cautious one at this point, however. The old apparatus that once ran the Communist Party was thoroughly

shaken. Rank-and-file demand for full democracy acts as a restraint.

This, at any rate, is the calculation of a grouping that appeared at the July meeting around Eugene Dennis and Sid Stein. This group is essentially in agreement with Foster but would moderate the struggle against the "rightists" in the Gates group.

The real differences in the National Committee were expressed in the fight over the "question of Joseph Clark," former foreign editor of the Daily Worker who has since resigned from the staff of that paper and from the Communist Party.

The Stein report was accepted unanimously. But Foster and some of his supporters (such as Benjamin Davis, Jr., William Weinstone, Charles Lohman) voted "with reservations." They wanted a harder line against Gates and Clark.

The Fosterites argued against a "dual center," referring to differences between the Daily Worker and the National Committee. They insisted on the application of "democratic central-

ism," (the Leninist term they use to cover the Stalinist practice of bureaucratic centralism of the Communist Party) in the desire to force Gates and Clark to toe the line or be removed. Foster said the question was "whether or not we should rebuild the Communist Party or head towards the creation of a new organization."

CONTROL OF WORKER

In the report of the Committee on Publications, excerpts of which were published in the August issue of Party Affairs, the National Committee attempted to reassert its control over the press where the Gates influence is strongest. But it did not dare extend this control so far as to remove Clark from his post as foreign editor. This task was postponed for a more propitious moment.

According to Benjamin Davis, Jr., the Daily Worker editor, John Gates, "stated to the National Committee that if any change was taken in the status of Comrade Clark as foreign editor of the Paper, he would resign."

The Publications Report said,

"It is no secret that some comrades would like to see Comrade Clark removed as foreign editor. If there were no other problems, this might be a contribution to the paper. . . . What are these 'other problems' that compelled the NC to an attitude of tolerance for Clark, however temporary? The Publications Report explained, 'Some of us feel that organizational measures would have serious consequences with regard to the struggle for the Party, for its line, and its relation to outside forces at the present time, when we are still in this difficult, weak stage.' (Emphasis added.)

Undoubtedly, people like John Gates found some hope of democratic tolerance for differences in the Communist Party at the convention last February. But in the National Committee, a body more removed from the rank-and-file of the Party, Gates was decidedly put on the defensive. His primary contribution to the discussion of the National Committee meeting was a plea for more comradely discussion of differences.

"People are leaving the Party," Gates replied to his opponents, "and the only thing that some of us can think about is how to tighten the screws even more. They aren't leaving fast enough. Drive them out! Accelerate the process!"

"The problem of thousands of

Copies of the Sid Stein report to the July 27-28 National Committee Meeting of the Communist Party as well as of the issue of Party Affairs containing discussion on the report can be obtained from Party Affairs, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

people is precisely that they want to leave our Party," Gates said. "No one of us has proved to be so good a Marxist that we can just say smugly and complacently, 'We're Marxists. Joe Clark is no Marxist. . . . We will win nobody, and only alienate more people, if our approach is organizational, and not political and ideological.'"

But the Dennis-Stein and Foster groups for all their plans about "ideological rebuilding," are not capable of resolving the party crisis on an ideological basis. The ways of democracy are not familiar to those who have functioned bureaucratically in the past. "Indoctrination" and suppression of opponents rather than discussion is what they know best. Suffice it to say that no one on the National Committee Gatesites included, has yet proposed to legitimize the right of members to form factions to fight for a programmatic point of view.

World Events

MIDEAST CRISIS took on more ominous character as U.S. Marines landed at Saros Bay in Thrace under simulated atomic bombing, backed by 96 U.S. Navy ships in the Mediterranean Sea. Meanwhile, King Hussein has placed Jordan under martial law.

DYNAMITE WAS THROWN at a building housing the pro-United States Daily Star in Beirut, Lebanon. Damage was slight.

SOVIET ARTISTS WERE WARNED by Izvestia Sept. 22 to toe the party line. Izvestia asserted that Dmitri Sholepov, who was removed last June as secretary of the Central Committee of the Community Party in charge of literature and art, was unable to tell harmful art from art "which supports the cause of communism."

IRELAND BACKED ALGERIA'S FREEDOM FIGHTERS when Frank Aiken, minister for External Affairs, called for the clear admission of Algeria's right of self determination.

ONE THOUSAND VENEZUELAN POLITICAL PRISONERS are languishing in jails according to Carlos Behrens, secretary general of the Venezuelan Workers Federation. Behrens arrived in Costa Rica with 16 others who were released from jail and exiled. They said their places were taken by newly arrested teachers, writers and journalists, who demanded guarantees for the December elections.

THIRTY CZECH COAL MINERS have been ordered to trial by state courts for absenteeism. Prague's youth newspaper "Mlada Fronta" also announced that a court at Moravska Ostrava sentenced two miners to prison for 12 and 18 months. In addition, dozens have been evicted from their homes in an attempt to counteract a production slump in coal.

AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL- "BAN THE H-BOMB" RALLY was backed by 33 labor members of Parliament. Marching through London in two columns, 4,000 persons assembled in Trafalgar Square where Ian Mikardo, a Laborite member of parliament urged that "whatever any other nation may do in Great Britain will not test or manufacture or use hydrogen bombs." He also asked the U.S. Air Force to get out of its British H-bomb bases. India's pending UN resolution recommends the indefinite suspension of nuclear tests without waiting for disarmament.

A "CASTE WAR" IN INDIA claimed the lives of 40 persons in the southern state of Madras. There have been investigations into reports of brutality and police firing.

A CUBAN COURT-MARTIAL imposed six-year prison sentences on 12 naval officers convicted for the Cienfuegos revolt against Cuban dictator Batista. Another military tribunal will try 31 other officers.

Socialism and Democracy

What has been the effect of Stalin's misuse on the attitude of American workers toward socialism? What can be done to end the isolation of socialists and bring their program for reorganizing society back into popularity? What has been the role of capitalist propagandists and the American trade-union bureaucracy in making the problem more difficult?

Read James P. Cannon's lucid discussion of one of the most fundamental questions facing socialists in America who seek a regroupment of forces. In the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

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Stalinism — Issue CP Can't Bury

By Myra Tanner Weiss

All factions in the leadership of the American Communist Party admit that the prolonged crisis the party is suffering stems from the shattering of the ideological foundations of the world Communist movement when the Khrushchev revelations on the crimes of Stalinism came to light.

What is the specific nature of this ideological crisis as compared with previous crises in the Communist Party? And what are the party leaders doing to repair or replace the ideological foundations that have crumbled beneath them?

The present crisis is unlike anything the CP has previously experienced because it is lodged in the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy itself. The inner equilibrium of the Soviet bureaucracy has been fundamentally upset by the intense pressure of the working masses in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Soviet bureaucracy is fighting for its very life against the threat of a revolution to install workers' democracy.

CAUGHT

The leaderships of the Communist parties throughout the world are beset by a contradiction they cannot resolve. From previous training they know only one way to meet a crisis in the party—by relying on the political stability of the Soviet bureaucracy with its ideological monolithism and its cult of unquestioning obedience to a Stalin. Now, however, this source of political stability is shaken; the very crisis the CP leaders face arises from the shattering of the Stalin cult and the ideological crisis of Stalinism in the Soviet orbit.

This means that the current crisis has altogether different features than the CP crisis of

Freiheit on Soviet Jewish Question

Chaim Suller, manager of the Morning Freiheit, Yiddish daily published in New York, reported on the condition of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union in the Sunday Worker, Sept. 22. Suller first reviewed his account last year of plans for the revival of Jewish culture that he had been told about during a visit to the Soviet Union in July 1956. These plans had been approved by the Soviet Writers Union, but had not been approved by the Soviet government. Still, other Jewish journalists who visited the Soviet Union at that time also reported on plans that were made. "This made us all feel certain," Suller said, "that the plan would really be carried out. But it is clear to all that now, a year later, this plan has NOT been carried out. Not one book has been published in Yiddish. There is not a single Yiddish newspaper except the one in Birobidjan (which did not cease publication during all this period). There is no permanent Yiddish theatre. The Jewish cultural conference was not called. The Yiddish literary journal has not yet appeared."

Suller expressed the opinion that this failure did not constitute evidence of anti-Semitism. And he expressed hope that the plan "will be fulfilled." But he said, "We must . . . conclude that this failure to satisfy the cultural needs of the Jewish population is a violation of the fundamental principles of socialism as they relate to the national question. No socialist and no friend of the Soviet Union can overlook or condone it."

1939, for example, when Stalin signed his pact with Hitler.

For the anti-fascist-minded workers in the CP, the Stalin-Hitler Pact came as a body-blow. All the tactical explanations in the world couldn't appease the anger and dismay of many. Others found the sudden switch in party line from "collective security" to the "democratic" imperialism against the fascist imperialism, to a pseudo anti-war policy—too strong for their middle-class radical taste.

Yet these losses did not destroy the stability of the central party apparatus. The turn resulting from the Stalin-Hitler Pact was ruthlessly carried through, without regard for casualties — and the subsequent switch back to super-patriotic support of the war (after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union) came even more easily. These sharp twists and turns didn't disorient the central core of the CP machine because it could continue its dependence on a relatively stable Soviet bureaucracy. The present situation is entirely different. It flows, as we have said, not from the changing foreign policy needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy, but from the crisis of the bureaucracy itself.

WISHFUL THINKING

Sid Stein, organization-secretary of the CP, said at the July National Committee meeting: "Recent developments in the Soviet Union afford us an objective basis for greater confidence that the superiority of socialism will be demonstrated in terms that more and more Americans will find easier to grasp. As the conditions are prepared for a great advance in living standards of the Soviet people, as the

process of democratization is accelerated, and as a result of the defeats suffered by those who attempted to scuttle the XXth Congress decisions, new and stronger bonds of friendship will be built. . . ."

This type of approach to solving the ideological crisis is at best wishful thinking and evades the heart of the problem. The Soviet Union is not traveling the road of correction of previous "errors" and "abuses" in a harmonious and unified way. It is torn by an inner contradiction between the working class and the bureaucracy. This contradiction is reaching an acute stage and has already resulted in revolutionary uprisings of Soviet-orbit workers.

The American Communist Party is faced with the choice: cling to allegiance to the Soviet bureaucracy or break with the bureaucracy and take the side of the workers. There is, of course, another choice: stick with the Soviet bureaucracy or go over to the imperialist crusaders for "freedom."

Class-conscious Communist workers are not interested in this latter choice. Only hopeless bureaucrats or unstable middle-class radicals who identified revolution with its bureaucratic usurpers, leap from the bureaucratic frying pan into the capitalist fire. Revolutionary workers will seek to discover a Marxist answer to the questions arising from the crisis in the Soviet orbit.

WANT BASIC ANSWERS

Communist workers will ask: Why is democratization in the Soviet Union needed forty years after the most democratic revolution in history? Who suppressed Soviet democracy and what forces impel the present

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The National Guardian's Stand

In the Sept. 23 issue of the National Guardian there is an editorial which deserves the careful attention of all radical workers, union militants and Negro fighters for freedom. Entitled "Independent Politics," the editorial points out that there is no "independent political task force" — that is to say, no mass party — to aid the Negro people in their current fight for enforcement of school integration.

This same tragic lack exists in the fight for restoration and preservation of civil liberties, for the defense of labor and for bringing atom-bomb tests to an end. Congress, the legislatures, the city councils, etc. are monopolized by the two parties of Big Business.

As a local example, the editorial notes: "Currently there is a bill before New York's City Council which would outlaw discrimination in private housing. . . . The bill is sponsored by a Republican, Stanley Isaacs, and two Democrats, Earl Brown and Joseph Sharkey. Yet the political parties of all the sponsors have turned their backs on the bill, real estate interests are waging a moneyed fight against it, and the struggle is left to the Negro community and a few civic organizations with no political leverage."

"The jobs are legion for independent political task forces in all the big cities of the North, where integration has been given lip service, but the pattern of segregated living persists."

We are in complete agreement that independent political task forces must be assembled to wage the fight against Jim Crow, for labor and civil rights. We believe that such a task force can and will be built nationally on the basis of the organized working class. That will mean,

Democracy in the CP?

Has the Communist Party of the U.S. changed its spots or is all the talk about a new birth of democracy within that organization a deception? At its 16th national convention last February the party members and radical public were given to understand that the old days of thought-control, arbitrary expulsions and suspensions, etc., were over. The newly adopted party constitution supposedly legalized free discussion within the party and protected members against arbitrary penalties. Among the safeguards were that an accused member could not be punished without first having had formal charges preferred against him, that at the trial he had the right to present witnesses in his defense, that an appeal from the verdict of the trial in his club to a higher body must be acted upon within 60 days.

These were fine words, and they corresponded to the demands of the party rank and file. The fine words are still being heard. For example, Sid Stein, CP National Organization Secretary, in his report to the National Committee on

first, a struggle in the unions for a Labor Party in the course of which the rank and file will win back control of their unions from the bureaucrats who are the principal bulwarks and beneficiaries of the alliance with the Democratic and Republican politicians.

It also means that the radical movement must run its own, socialist, candidates who will campaign for the principle of independent working-class political action. And it means that independent political action by the Negro people — especially in conjunction with labor — must be promoted and supported as further preparation for the building of a Labor party.

It is the stress on the need for independent politics in the Guardian editorial that we find so welcome. With the editorial's point of departure — that the need arises out of the demise of the Progressive Party we are in disagreement. In our opinion the PP was a liberal capitalist party, built on sand, and destined to its sad fate even if it had not been so viciously persecuted by the witch hunters.

But the fact that from the PP experience many workers, students, Negroes and others learned so well the reactionary futility of supporting either the Democrats or Republicans is a positive gain. It enables them to see through the phoney arguments with which the Daily Worker and Communist Party try to beguile them back into coalition with the Democrats, locally and nationally. This clarity on the need for independent politics will be an important factor in the building, locally and nationally, of the political task forces that will become America's Labor Party.

July 28, declared: "We must especially shy away from impugning the loyalty, the integrity of comrades because we disagree with one or another of their views. . . . Let us collectively bring into being a comradesly atmosphere where the clash of ideas leads to a clasping of hands and to improvement of the party's policies, rather than to motions for removal or expulsion."

But words alone are not enough! They must square with deeds! The letter from five suspended CP members in Los Angeles, printed in last week's Militant, shows that these people, accused of guilt by association (participation in a discussion group with Trotskyists), were given a kangaroo trial, all the new constitution's "safeguards" were violated, and they have been unable to get an answer to their appeal to a higher body even though the 60-day period stipulated in the constitution has elapsed.

Not flowery speeches nor democratic resolutions, but what happens in this Los Angeles case and similar cases will prove whether or not the CP has established party democracy.

... Issue in Teamsters

"strictly a rank-and-file move to reclaim for members a little of the industrial democracy they've lost along the way."

An editorial in the Sept. 9 New York Post discusses the recent Gallup poll which claimed that rank-and-file Teamster sentiment across the country is 3-to-1 against Hoffa. The Post says: "It seems to us this is the moment for the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee to challenge Hoffa to permit a free, independently supervised rank-and-file union election (even at the risk of setting a precedent that might demand imitation by some other entrenched labor bureaucracies)."

BECK GETS IN ACT

In the new atmosphere even Dave Beck talks about democracy. "Democracy must reign in the labor movement to make it effective," he says in the Septem-

ber issue of the International Teamster. (This is the same Beck who once declared "I'm paid \$25,000 a year to run this outfit. . . . Why should truck drivers and bottle washers be allowed to make big decisions affecting union policy? Would any corporation allow it?")

Regardless of the source of these remarks (some made by the worst enemies of the working people), the attention they arouse is good because it brings out the central issue facing the labor movement and the Teamsters in particular—the right and the need of the rank and file to take the affairs of the union into its own hands. This right will have to be fought for. Militant unionists can take advantage of the present atmosphere and publicity to pose concrete demands for the restoration of workers democratic rights.

The membership should have control over conditions on the job and the settlement of grievances. Stewards should be elected by rank-and-file vote. Local unions should have the freedom to take whatever action is necessary to enforce union conditions on the job.

The membership should have control over negotiations with management. Rank-and-file committees should participate in negotiations. No agreement should be signed until discussed fully and ratified by the membership.

There should be no restrictions on the right to strike. The local unions should have full power to take strike action after democratic membership vote.

All officers should stand for election at least once a year, from stewards to the top officials of the International union. All officers should be subject to recall from office if they default on their duties at any time during their term.

No official should receive a salary higher than the wage scale of skilled workers in the industry concerned. Expense accounts should be limited to actual needs for union activities. Full financial reports should be made to the membership at regular intervals.

Conventions should be held every year with all delegates elected by membership vote and all convention committees elected by the delegates.

"Trusteeship" should be abolished. There should be no impairment of the autonomous rights of local unions which should have regular membership meetings at reasonably frequent intervals.

Freedom of expression for all views, including those in opposition to incumbent union officials, and the right to organize opposition caucuses, should be guaranteed. Where the union has control over hiring, jobs should be given out under supervision of an elected committee on the basis of a waiting list available for membership inspection.

Two Wisc. Witch-Hunt Victims Sue U.S. Defense Department

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 18 — "It would be a mistake to assume that McCarthyism died with the passing of the junior Senator from Wisconsin," argue Benjamin Segal and Joyce Kornbluh in a renewed attack upon "The Insecurities of Our Security Program," printed in the August 1957 issue of the Madison, Wisconsin "Progressive."

The main illustration for their argument is the case of Stephen Krezmar, former President of Milwaukee Local 5501, CWA. Krezmar and Local 5501's Secretary-Treasurer John Dressler were dismissed from their jobs with Wisconsin Bell Telephone in February 1956, under the Industrial Personnel Security Program inaugurated by the Defense Department in 1949. They are alleged to be members or associates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The most striking feature in these victimizations was the immediate transfer by management of all responsibility for the fir-

ings to Defense Secretary Wilson. In public speeches Wilson has made the telephone cases an integral part of his "security program"; and he has subsequently included the review of the Krezmar case in a Defense Department pamphlet in defense of the whole IPSP.

The authors of the Progressive article note:

"A secret level screening was requested by the company for Krezmar although 1) he was working on non-classified materials and 2) the company has no defense contracts in the area where he was employed."

Segal and Kornbluh continue to warn the labor movement of the dangers of the Butler Bill (S. 1140) still in legislative committee. This is the plan to extend the present security program to all employees in any plant that MAY be important to defense in a "national emergency."

Despite recent Supreme Court decisions that curb witch-hunting laws and executive orders,

the police-state gang in Washington continue to push their measures to blanket the nation with police controls.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

"The issue of guilt by association still remains very much of a problem under IPSP covering (now) 3 million workers in industry; because close to one-third of the criteria used to judge a man's security status deal with his social, organizational, and family associations."

Under IPSP eight of 22 criteria deal with a worker's past associations in "establishing or continuing a sympathetic association with a spy, saboteur, traitor, seditionist, anarchist or revolutionist." (Emphasis added.)

Segal and Kornbluh point out the parallel character in the Wisconsin Bell Telephone discharges and the firing of 14 workers by Sperry Gyroscope three years ago. Sperry Corporation decreed that "security begins and ends at the plant gate." Wisconsin Bell spokesmen say that the company is a "key facility," and anyone denied clearance "has destroyed his usefulness."

The importance of the Krezmar-Dressler cases is heightened by the decision of these two workers, with an enviable record in the Wisconsin labor movement, to seek review of their cases in the federal courts. They expect to carry the fight to the Supreme Court, if necessary. One of the prime issues they will present in court is whether "security" discharges are legal where no "security danger" is apparent.

A front page story in the Sept. 7 Milwaukee Journal reports the filing of John Dressler's complaint in federal district court at Washington, D.C. Dressler is represented by the well-known Wisconsin civil liberties attorney, Michael Essin, former chairman of the Wisconsin People's Progressive Party.

Dressler is suing Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and Defense Department Review Director A. Tyler Port, demanding a temporary restraining order to set aside the Department's determination to deny Dressler clearance. A similar suit by Steve Krezmar, who is represented by an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, is now pending in federal court.

Dressler charges the Defense Department with "an unconstitutional and otherwise unlawful extension of military power over [his] civilian activities." The complaint demonstrates that, specifically constitutional right, especially re-affirmed in recent Supreme Court decisions, has been violated in his case.

All the recent talk about union democracy has the Wall Street Journal worried. "The Steelworkers upheaval," says the Sept. 17 issue, "raises this question: Once the move toward more democracy is begun, will the members let it stop?"

... Reuther and Hoffa

(Continued from page 1)

demands. Today, in the auto plants, the mention of guaranteed annual wage is met with jeers, sneers and groans. Incidentally, this idea was not original with Reuther, but was a pet scheme put forward by the late Philip Murray at the founding convention of the steel workers international union in 1942.

In such important fields of union benefits as company-financed welfare and pension funds, Reuther was a belated follower. It was United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis whose leadership of a number of great wartime and postwar national coal strikes won the first industry-financed welfare and pension plans. Reuther, of course, was one of the leaders of the pack that attacked Lewis as a "traitor" for his sterling defense, even during the war, of the coal miners' interests.

"THINKING BIG" Reuther may not be aware that one of the most effective pieces of propaganda in his current proposal for a price-wage deal is also a virtual confession of his failure to give effective "bread and butter" leadership to the auto workers. When he complains that GM upped its annual profits between 1947 and 1957 from \$54,000,000 to \$1,994,000,000 and that Ford and Chrysler made similar vast leaps in profits, he is saying that during his leadership of the UAW the auto corporations made bigger profits and extracted more surplus value from the workers than ever before.

In this light, Reuther's "big thinking" turns out to be big

The Lamont Case

THE LAMONT CASE, by Philip Wittenberg. New York. Horizon Press. 1957. \$5.00.

This book is written as a documentary case history of a crucial moment in the opposition to McCarthyism. It revolves about the effort of Corliss Lamont, author and first chairman of the Committee for Soviet-American Friendship, to free himself of a contempt of Congress indictment.

Lamont's effort was unique at the time (1952) in that he challenged the very constitutionality of the McCarthy Committee procedures, by using the First, Free Speech amendment, instead of the Fifth.

Lamont contended that the McCarthy committee's questions must be shown to be relevant to some legislative purpose and that questions must not impinge upon the rights of free speech.

A MOVING DRAMA

Wittenberg presents the history of the Lamont case in a form which must appear to a lawyer to be the most lucid and concise presentation. It consists of the most important excerpts from courtroom and congressional hearings and debates, as well as the legal brief of prosecution and defense. The documents are linked and placed in context by brief expository passages. The surprising thing is that, dry and forbidding as such a format might appear, the record of the three years of Congressional hearings and of court litigation

actually emerges as a cogent and moving drama.

But if this legalistic technique of exposition is successful it also provides some powerful insights into the picaresque, quibbling nature of the legal mind. The court's decision was for Lamont, but only on the technicality that the indictment had failed to assert that the committee and its inquiry were duly empowered by Congress. Therefore, the judge concluded, "This disposition makes it unnecessary to determine the constitutionality and other questions so vigorously pressed for disposition by the defendants." Last spring, however, in its Watkins Case decision, the Supreme Court did uphold the constitutional points pressed earlier by Lamont.

On the strength of that legal victory, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of which Corliss Lamont is vice-chairman, has launched a drive to abolish the Congressional witch-hunting bodies altogether. This book about the Lamont case will help explain why the drive should be supported by all partisans of the Bill of Rights.

—David Miller

Sobell Freedom Plea Backed at Seattle Forum

SEATTLE — The fall series of the Socialist Forum in Seattle was opened on Sept. 21 with a benefit meeting and social to raise funds and support for the Morton Sobell case.

An overflow audience crowded the Socialist Workers Party Hall here to see the film strip "We've Done Justice" issued by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, and to hear two different interpretations of the Sobell case; one by Jay Sykes, prominent Seattle civil liberties attorney, and the other by Jody Collins, a young socialist representing the S. W. P.

The lively discussion at the meeting revealed that differences in political positions and interpretations of the reasons for the continued persecution of Morton Sobell are no detriment to winning support for the Sobell case.

Jay Sykes disagreed with the conception that Sobell's conviction was a conscious frame-up, though he clearly pointed out that the evidence against Morton Sobell was not sufficient to warrant a conviction. He contended that this conviction resulted from the climate of hysteria that prevailed during the Rosenberg-Sobell case which affected both the jury and judge and the inclination of some prosecution attorneys to seek a conviction even where evidence did not warrant it.

Jody Collins presented the position that the Sobell conviction

was a frame-up and that it flowed from the attempt of the government to silence opposition to the Korean War and to lay the groundwork for World War III.

Both speakers agreed that the present more liberal atmosphere in the country where civil liberties are concerned made it possible to extend the campaign to win Sobell's freedom. They urged the audience to publicize the case and give financial support to the efforts of the Sobell Committee to win a rehearing in the case.

Audience and speakers probed the questions of labor support for Sobell, socialism and democracy, the character of the courts, etc., in a discussion period that followed the presentation by the speakers. The collection and the social after the meeting netted over \$50 to help support Sobell's present appeal for a rehearing. Signatures were also gathered for a petition supporting the Amicus Curiae Brief in support of Sobell's case.

The fall series of the Socialist Forum will feature a meeting and social every Saturday night throughout October and the first part of November at 655 Main Street.

Labor-Baiter McClellan Backs Racist Pals in Ark.

By William Bundy

Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), the man who is leading the drive to get legislation through Congress that would place new government shackles on unions, doesn't believe that the government has—or should have—the power to stop racist mobs from keeping Negro children out of Southern schools. "I regret," said McClellan according to the Sept. 25 New York Daily News, "the proposed use of force by the federal government to enforce integration." Referring to Federal action in the face of racist violence in his home state, McClellan continued, "I believe it to be without authority of law."

McClellan went to Arkansas last month and visited his friend Governor Faubus at the very time Faubus was using armed force to stop token integration at Little Rock Central High School.

This is entirely in character for McClellan, whose political support comes from the rich cotton planters of East Arkansas and who supports the poll tax and right to scab laws which prevail in his state.

McClellan is closely identified, according to Al Toffler in the Sept. 14 Nation, "with the most right-wing of right-wing Dixiecrats, Thurmond, Eastland, Robertson and Harry Byrd."

He has been an anti-civil

rights fighter during his entire Senate career. Last year he was one of the Dixiecrat Congressmen who signed the "Southern Manifesto," designed to foment open defiance of the Supreme Court school-integration decision. He also helped introduce a "right to work" amendment to the civil rights bill this year. The amendment was designed to kill the bill, but McClellan was sincere in his advocacy of the right-to-scab law.

His anti-labor voting record in Congress is surpassed by few and he is—by all accounts—one of the three most reactionary Senators on the Senate labor-probe committee five of whose eight members are arch-reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats.

Even the liberals, who generally support his probe, criticize his conduct of the hearings, says Toffler, for "undermining the Bill of Rights by asking witnesses countless questions in the full knowledge that to answer would be to waive their privilege to the Fifth Amendment. This has led to the familiar numbers game of the McCarthy era: 'So-and-so took the Fifth Amendment X times today.'"

There should be no doubt about the anti-labor designs of the committee that such a man heads. The cooperation of the AFL-CIO leaders with McClellan is treachery to the labor movement.

4-Day Nationwide Phone Strike

Striking telephone installers returned to work Sept. 20 after a four-day nationwide strike by the Communications Workers of America, whose picket lines were respected by 200,000 to 300,000 other Bell system employees. Most of the 23,800 Western Electric Company installers returned — but the return was marked by discontent.

In New York, John Flanagan, president of Local 1190 said the men "will go back to work and express their dissatisfaction by rejecting the

agreement." In Indianapolis, Kenneth A. Silvers, president of Local 5790, covering Indiana and sections of Ohio expressed the same sentiment. In Atlanta, Southern Bell suspended 600 workers for failing to cross picket lines.

The strike was called after negotiations broke down. The new two-year contract provides wage increases from six to twelve cents an hour. A union spokesman estimated the total package at 13½ cents an hour. Wages under the old contract ranged from \$1.39 to \$2.80 an hour.

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Fight New York Jim Crow!

(The following is the text of a statement, "For a Labor Administration to End Segregation in New York Schools," issued by New York Socialist Workers Party candidates Joyce Cowley for Mayor, Lillian Kiezel for President of the City Council, Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller and Alvin Berman for Borough President of Brooklyn. It was distributed at the Sept. 19 Negro and Puerto-Rican parents' picket line before City Hall.—Ed.)

Negro and Puerto Rican parents have fought for three and a half years to provide their children with better education than they are now receiving in the over-crowded, run-down and understaffed schools of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem. After a two-year investigation the Board of Education has finally substantiated all the charges made by the parents. After months of delay, the program to integrate New York schools was adopted last February.

These recommendations which included broad changes in zoning and teacher assignment, were to go into effect by September 1957. When the schools opened there was still no indication that any steps had been taken to carry out the program adopted in February. Close to 250 out of 800 schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education remain segregated.

On August 20th, after the Commission on Integration charged Supt. of Schools Jansen with "deliberately confusing, delaying, distorting and sidetracking" reports of the Commission, the Mayor's office announced that the city would not

interfere in the controversy. Deputy Mayor John J. Theobald said that such matters would be left to the educational authorities.

The United States Supreme Court decided that school segregation is illegal, but as the Negro students facing guns and bayonets in Little Rock have learned, getting a legal decision is not sufficient. The "liberal" politicians don't intend to enforce it. In New York City, official indifference is used instead of guns. The effect is the same. Negro and Puerto Rican children continue to receive inferior education in segregated schools.

Why does Mayor Wagner refuse to tell us where he stands and what he is planning to do to assure that school integration is carried out in New York?

To assure integrated schools and adequate educational facilities the Socialist Workers Party demands:

(1) The city administration must restore the \$52,000,000 which it just slashed to the school budget.

(2) Mayor Wagner must guarantee full and adequate representation of Negro and Puerto Rican parents on the Board of Education.

(3) Empower the PTA's together with Negro, Puerto Rican and labor organizations to determine school needs.

(4) Labor representatives in City Hall to pass and enforce anti-segregation laws.

To advance this program: **VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN NOVEMBER.**

...Picket N.Y. City Hall

(Continued from page 1)

Mayor Wagner and the others in City Hall won't hear us unless we're thousands strong and organize for our demands. Today we are asking for equal educational facilities. Tomorrow we will demand our rights. All we need is organization.

Another mother pointed out that "discrimination is here to stay so long as someone can make a profit out of it. It isn't just enough to try to educate these politicians here or in Washington to the inhuman conditions, to the indignities and insults that we are forced to submit to. So long as someone is making money out of our misery, discrimination will go on."

Another parent insisted that "if the Mayor refuses to meet our demands there is only one thing to do—keep fighting."

This spirit of resistance to segregation and the determination to end it dominated the entire demonstration. It was revealed most dramatically in a conversation I overheard between two pickets. "You know," said a young mother to another, "I went to bed last night at 8 o'clock so I could be here early this morning and march. I want to march not only for myself but for everyone, for my children, for my grandchildren. I want to march till I can't march anymore."

ARE WE IN DIXIE?

Mothers held aloft placards which read, "Who said it couldn't happen in New York?" "P.S. 2—1863 in use, 1957 in use." "Segregated housing breeds segregated schools." "Brooklyn ministers join hands with the Southern clergy for school integration North and South." "We don't know whether we are or whether we aren't above the Mason-Dixon line." "Mr. Mayor, the responsibility is yours."

Representatives for Parents in action, headed by Ella Baker, Chairman of the Education Committee of the NAACP's New York Branch and member of the Subcommittee on Zoning of the Commission on Integration, had a conference with Mayor Wagner while the demonstration was in progress. Reading from a prepared statement, Miss Baker noted that she spoke "for the hundreds of parents affiliated with this delegation, and the many hundreds more whose interests we represent."

Miss Baker told Wagner that at a meeting on July 11, Negro and Puerto Rican parents, concerned with segregated schools, had made requests for more experienced teachers, for immediate desegregation, for application of school funds to provide remedial and guidance personnel, for planning of school construction to avoid double sessions and promote integration, and for the Central Zoning Unit to be put into operation by September 1957.

NO IMPROVEMENT

"In our July conference, Mr. Mayor, you also assured us that you would use the full weight of your office to see that conditions in our schools would not be the same in September as they were when schools closed in June. We regret to state that we find no less ground for concern now than we did in June. In fact our concerns have deepened rather than abated. For our schools have opened on double and triple sessions, staffed with inexperienced teachers and with varying curriculum standards. Furthermore, the spectre of the 'master plan' for zoning recently proposed by Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, causes us to shudder; and we are equally appalled at the report that you, Mr. Mayor, have adopted

a hands-off policy and will leave the school situation strictly in the hands of the Board of Education. While we know there are technical grounds for such a position, we can not forget that there are moral imperatives incumbent in your position as the elected head of our city."

Wagner conceded to none of the demands proposed by the delegation but promised to arrange a conference on Sept. 25, at the Board of Education to discuss the demands. None of the parents I spoke to believed that such a conference would result in any substantial gains for school integration. This was obviously another stall to help the present administration get past Election Day.

LABOR'S ROLE

In their anxiety not to embarrass Wagner, to whom they have pledged their support, the city's AFL and CIO leaders failed to support the parents' picket line. The city's labor bureaucrats thus remain as guilty as Wagner himself for the continued segregation of New York schools. Yet school and housing integration is a vital need for the labor movement as well as for the Negro and Puerto Rican people. For it will help to cement unity in the ranks of the labor movement itself. A united labor-Negro-Puerto Rican movement with a party of its own and under a fighting leadership can assure the victory of integration.

A labor party in office would begin immediately to integrate schools and housing. The money now earmarked by the present administration for more billy swinging cops, corrupt judges and foul jails would be used to build new schools and otherwise ease the present intolerable conditions for the working people in New York City.

VOLUME XXI

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Socialists Enter S.F. Election

Witch Hunter To Head N.Y. City Colleges

By Lillian Kiezel
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for
Pres. of N. Y. City Council

Gustave M. Rosenberg, trial attorney, was unanimously voted chairman of New York City's 21-man Board of Higher Education on Sept. 23. For four years he has been head of the Board's committee whose duty it is to ferret out "communist" elements among the faculty of the city's five colleges.

Rosenberg says that no new investigations of this kind are being contemplated and that no one has been named to replace him on the committee.

However, it is he who symbolizes the witch-hunt in the N. Y. City colleges. On June 16 he submitted a report summing up the results of his four years of investigations. Four faculty members had been discharged after departmental trials, 22 had resigned or retired, and 14 others had been dismissed for refusing to answer questions as to their political beliefs.

Obviously, the reason the committee is suspending activity is not a change of heart by Rosenberg or other Board members but recent Supreme Court decisions curbing the witch-hunters. More important than Rosenberg's promises about no more probes is what stand the Board takes on crucial academic-freedom principles. What for example is the position of the Board in the debate going on between the Association of American Universities and the American Civil Liberties Union?

The principles of the AAU are as follows: Present membership in the CP is reason for disqualification; fitness of professors who invoke the Fifth Amendment should be "re-examined"; faculty members owe complete candor to their universities.

The ACLU maintains that these decrees are harmful to academic freedom. "Teachers who have been dropped because of the application of principles like those set forth in the AAU statement find themselves virtually denied significant institutional appointments. Public relations considerations and institutional conservatism, if not actual blacklist, separate such persons from any real future as scholars." (Sept. 20 New York Times.) The ACLU is making an appeal for a re-examination of teacher "loyalty" policies by American universities.

The record shows Rosenberg to be a witch-hunter, capable of launching new attacks on academic freedom in the city colleges. Thus it is important to protest the action of the Board of Higher Education in choosing him as its chairman.

It is equally important that all fighters for civil liberties demand the immediate reinstatement of all teachers who have been made victims of the witch-hunt.



FRANK BARBARIA (left) and JOAN JORDAN, the two socialist candidates for supervisor in San Francisco.



Letters from Readers

The Cross That Didn't Burn

Editor:

I am forwarding a letter to you from a friend in Mississippi. R. L. Chicago

(The letter follows.—Editor.)

Dear Friend:

I watch closely for signs of the KKK in all the news broadcasts and what few papers I get my hands on. They had a little incident in Pritchard, Ala., in June that did not make any news but showed that the little cross is losing its terror and significance in the South. They put up a cross in the yard of the Negro that ran for alderman in Pritchard a year ago, but the neighbors pulled it down before it was lighted and chased the bunch that was putting it up. Nothing but high school boys in the crowd. The Mobile Daily would not print any further report on it as they remarked that if such incidents are ignored and not played up, the public can't know there is an undercurrent and it will die before it reaches the dangerous stage. The Citizens Council group here in this state is dying.

H. J. Mississippi

Canadian Labor In Strike Battles

Editor:

There are many working class struggles in the U.S. and in the world that the Militant must report. The reporting of these struggles in the fight for socialism takes up space in the Militant, and space like money is always limited in a workers' paper. However, in Canada there are major strikes in progress that are important not only for the strikers themselves but also for their wider political implications.

The bosses are engaging in a reconnaissance and probing campaign against labor. They wish to find labor's weak spots before a major offensive against workers' living standards and against democracy.

While there are barriers and tariffs on goods that the people need between Canada and the U.S., there are no barriers to the passing of reaction either way between the two nations. And if the bosses are successful

in their drive against labor in Canada, this success will be used to weaken the workers in the U.S.

The details, the heroism of the workers and the political implications in these strikes are reported in the Canadian Marxist paper, The Workers' Vanguard. I believe there is a need to report these strikes to the U.S. workers and only the Militant can do the job.

P. S. Toronto

Questions To the AEC

Editor:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent to Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing in the name of a great number of people in the Bay Area who are extremely concerned about the continued testing of nuclear weapons. We are particularly concerned about the "underground test" set for September 17, and we ask your assurances on the following points:

(1) As you know, this part of the country rests upon several large earth faults with an unknown number of fissures. What guarantees can you give us that this blast will not be the cause of serious earthquakes at the time of, or subsequent to the proposed blast?

(2) Eight hundred feet of earth even with multiple vents is a very small amount of covering for a blast equal to "from 1-10,000 tons of TNT." What guarantee can you give us that the top of the hill will not blow off? What are your plans for monitoring the extremely radioactive fallout which will occur in such an eventuality?

What steps will be taken to care for people, stock, crops, and water in such an eventuality?

(3) The scorched and beaten earth will be made highly radioactive, and will be put off bounds for visitors. (Oakland Tribune, Thurs. Sept. 12.) How will this "off bounds" be maintained? What steps will be taken to prevent accidental entry into this contaminated area by people who do not know the danger, or who cannot read? How will you prevent the entry of animals, either domestic or wild, into this area? As an example: Coyotes are numerous in this territory, and it is impossible to control their range. Their habits include eating carrion. Some small animals may die of radioactivity. Coyotes may eat them, then travel to other places where their feces could contaminate plant life which in turn could be eaten by sheep or cows. Have you considered this danger?

We anxiously await your reply. L. Kelley Mayhew

(Temporary Chairman, Organizing Committee to Protect Public Health and Welfare Against the Hazards of Nuclear Energy, 3853 Clarke St., Oakland, Calif.)

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Call for FEPC, Labor Party, End Bomb Tests

SAN FRANCISCO, SEPT. 20—Frank Barbaria, union electrician, and Joan Jordan, union lithograph worker, filed their statements as candidates for Supervisor at City Hall today. In announcing their bid for office they stated that they were frankly partisans for socialism and for the building of an independent labor party to fight for the interests of the working people. The two candidates have been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

"San Francisco's non-partisan elections are a cover for the two major parties," said Barbaria. "These elections are in fact partisan. But the fiction of non-partisan elections is the perfect camouflage to hide the fact that there is no real difference between the two parties."

Mrs. Jordan said she was for permanent free child-care centers, summer camps and recreational facilities for the children of working mothers. "The city of San Francisco should take on the responsibility for providing these facilities so that working mothers can be sure their children will have some place to go while the mothers are at work," she declared.

FOR FEPC

Barbaria and Jordan took a strong stand to increase the effectiveness of the recently passed Fair Employment Practices Ordinance. They called for jail sentences for violators instead of the wrist-slapping fines now in the ordinance; for open public hearings instead of the secret hearings; for more representation on the Board by the minority peoples.

"Out of seven persons on the Board as it was appointed by the Mayor," said Mrs. Jordan, "only one is a Negro."

Three Views on USSR Heard at Youth Forum

By William Bundy

Three anti-capitalist speakers with sharply divergent views on the Russian question discussed "Recent Changes in the Soviet Union" at a youth forum Sept. 22 at the Brighton Beach Community Center in Brooklyn attended by 130 persons.

The speakers, appearing as individuals, were Bert Deck of the Young Socialist Forum, George Watts of the Communist Party and Dave McReynolds of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

Deck said the recent Soviet events should be understood as signs of a "coming Russian Revolution" by the Soviet working class for workers' democracy and against bureaucratic domination. He said that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a great forward leap in human history, but that the Russian workers had lost the "great democratic gains of that revolution," and were now struggling to recapture and extend them. They are opposed in this, said Deck, by a "self-seeking, privileged bureaucracy against which the workers must consciously prepare a revolution." The workers are moving at this time, he said, because their number and skill have grown greatly in the Soviet Union and they have become conscious of their strength; because the Soviet Union is no longer isolated; and because world capitalism shows grave weakness.

CITES DEUTSCHER

Watts said that a process of democratization is going on in the Soviet Union. "I realize that it is a struggle," he said, "and I give no present Soviet leader or group of leaders a blank check in this process, but it is a struggle within the family, not a struggle against the family."

Deck is on the editorial board of the new newspaper, the Young Socialist, Watts is a Smith Act victim. McReynolds, is a contributor to the pacifist magazine, Liberation. A fourth scheduled speaker, Sheldon Weeks of the American Friends Service Committee, failed to appear due to an automobile breakdown.

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Sat., Oct. 12, 8:30 P.M. — LILLIAN KIEZEL, Candidate for President of the City Council: "The Civil Rights Struggle Today."

Sat., Oct. 19, 8:30 P.M. — ALVIN BERMAN, Candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn: "The Senate Racket Probe and the High Cost of Living."

Sat., Oct. 26, 8:30 P.M. — MORRIS ZUCKOFF, Candidate for Comptroller: "Role of Socialists in Election Campaigns."

Questions and Discussion
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